Volume LXXXI No. 17 January 22, 1965 25 Cents

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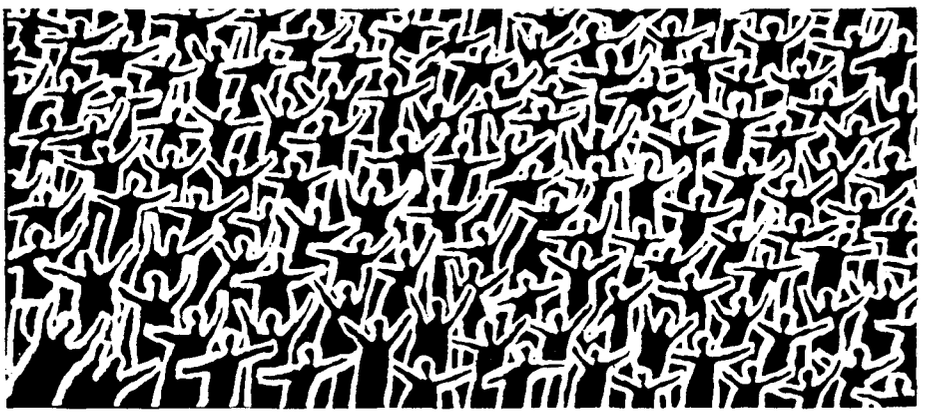

COMMUNISM IN ASIA

Tissa Balasuriya

ISAAC BASHEVIS SINGER

Lothar Kahn

REBELLION IN STEEL

Russell W. Gibbons

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CORRESPONDENCE

False assumption?

New York City

To the Editors: James O'Gara's "The Pull of the Right" [December 18] was wise and interesting, but only after the second sentence, I believe. In reference to the Goldwaterites' post-election slogan, "Twenty-six million Americans can't be wrong," Mr. O'Gara says, "In point of fact twenty-six million Americans can be and were wrong, of course. . . ."

May I suggest that with such a reply Mr. O'Gara is acceding to the same false assumption on which Goldwaterism is based? If, somehow, Goldwater *had* won the election, or if Nixon had won in 1960, as he nearly did, would Mr. O'Gara say that the people who voted Democratic were "wrong"? As Walter Lippmann has pointed out, the Goldwaterites' slogan fails to allow for the idea of "consensus" from a variety of opinions, by which "the art of the possible" is best made possible.

EDWIN KENNEBECK

Win, lose or draw, any Goldwater vote was a wrong vote as far as I am concerned. —J. O'G.

A different reading

Woodstock, Md.

To the Editors: I hesitate to write anything that might sound like a "Catholic reply" to Robert McAfee Brown's "Apprehensions About the Council" [Dec. 25] because, while he speaks as a Protestant, he voices sentiments shared by many Catholics. In fact my own reactions, when I read the first news reports on the closing days of the Second Session, were not unlike his. But I have since had time for further thought and study which significantly change the picture as I see it.

1. As regards the statement on religious liberty, it was indeed disappointing that no vote was taken. But in view of the late date when the final schema was presented, it can hardly be said that "there was every opportunity given to ventilate attitudes *pro* and *con*. . . . It could reasonably have been expected that there would be a definitive vote." One of the most determined promoters of the schema, Father John Courtney Murray, speaking at Georgetown on December 1, held that the Council presidency's decision to postpone the vote was "technically correct," since extensive revisions had made the document "substantially a new text" requiring further study by the Council Fathers. "I am inclined to think," Father Murray added, "that the decision was wise," since it will permit more mature reflection and result in wider support. Monsignor George G. Higgins, commenting on Father Murray's address, agreed that "the Pope made the correct decision in not overruling a body which had acted technically under the law" and predicted that the postponement of the declaration on liberty will prove "a blessing in disguise."

2. Referring to the final modifications of the Declaration on Ecumenism, Dr. Brown asserts that the Council was reduced to a rubber-stamp assembly in having to accept changes which they had not previously debated. He admits that these changes were apparently minor, except for one—the statement that the separated brethren "seek" (rather than, as previously drafted, "find") God in the Scriptures. But there is no implication that the quest is a fruitless one. The document repeatedly asserts that the separated Christians possess faith in Christ, grace, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Evidently, then, the meaning is that they do not find Christ in such a way that they have no further to seek. Which of us does?

The Pope was entirely within his rights in making these changes; as a matter of fact no schema reaches the floor without his prior approval. The Pope did not make his changes mandatory, but submitted them to the judgment of competent officers of the Secretariat on Christian unity. In view of the Pope's uniquely high responsibility, his scrupulous care combined with modesty should not be a cause of offense to anyone.

3. Dr. Brown's third grievance has to do with the title "Mother of the Church" attributed to our Lady in the Pope's closing allocution. Inaccurately terming this a "definition," Dr. Brown objects that the title "went contrary to the sentiments expressed earlier in the Council." I do not have access to these earlier speeches, but I have reason to think that the objection was centered on certain ambiguities surrounding the title, carefully guarded against in the Pope's allocution. The title, as explained by Pope Paul, is in perfect harmony with the closing chapter of the Constitution on the Church, which states that "the Catholic Church, taught by the Holy Spirit, honors her with filial affection and piety as a most beloved Mother." To speak, as Dr. Brown does, as if the Pope had no right to say anything more than the Council had already explicitly declared is not to uphold conciliarity but to reduce the Pope to the status of rubber stamp.

4. For this reason I find it difficult to understand Dr. Brown's final point, that this final allocution of Pope Paul was in opposition to "the manifest concern of the majority of the Council Fathers . . . to place Mary in a fuller theological perspective (as the decision to incorporate the separate schema on the Church illustrated)." Since the Pope dealt with Mary's relationship to the Church and to the Christian people generally, and placed this in a Christological as well as an ecclesiological context, it would seem that this intention of the Council, far from being "virtually nullified" (as Dr. Brown argues), was powerfully implemented.

No doubt my instincts as a Catholic incline me to see the Pope's actions in a favorable light. But I do not think I am guilty of any distortion. If Prof. Brown exaggerates in the other direction, I do not attribute this to any anti-Catholic bias on his part—he has amply proved his freedom from any such thing—but to a holy impatience to see the Council bring forth a rich harvest of accomplishments for the glory of God and the union of Christians. This

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zeal we Catholics admire and wish to share. *(Rev.)* AVERY DULLES, S.J.

Procedural fiascos

New Haven, Conn.

To the Editors: Robert McAfee Brown's article in the Dec. 25th issue fulfilled its purpose admirably. It presented the typical reaction of a well-informed Protestant viewing the depressing final week of the third session of the council from a distance. However, other interpretations are possible. Your readers may be interested in some of the impressions I formed during my stay in Rome.

First, I find myself inclined to think that the future of the declaration on religious liberty is now as fully assured as if there had been no postponement of the preliminary vote. The protest of fourteen hundred bishops cannot be ignored. Further, the Pope's own statements and those of his personal theological advisor, Colombo, mostly support the view that he is in favor of a strong declaration of basically the present type. His assurances to Cardinals Léger, Meyer and Ritter are firmer than any previously given. Lastly, even though those who engineered the postponement certainly do not want to improve the document, still that may well be the eventual outcome. There are real difficulties in the present draft reflecting the disagreements between John Courtney Murray's "natural law" outlook and the more revelational approach proposed, especially by some of the French. The delay provides opportunities that would not otherwise be available for dealing with these problems.

Second, it seems to me that it should be emphasized that the papal interventions, regrettable though they were, are most plausibly understood as directed, not *against* either collegiality or ecumenicism, but *in favor* of the principle of conciliar unanimity. This is clear in reference to the explicative note on collegiality attached to *De Ecclesia* and the last minute changes in *De Oecumenismo*. Even those who disapproved of these moves did not quarrel with the

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COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts. Second-class postage paid in Norwalk, Conn. Printed in the USA and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and from mid-July to mid-September, at 116 Main St, Norwalk, Conn, by Commonweal Publishing Co, 232 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016 MUrray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1965 Commonweal Publishing Co, Inc. US and Canada, $8 a year. Foreign $10 Single copies 25¢

POPULATION PLANNING

In his State of the Union message, President Johnson said that it would be the aim of his Administration "to seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources." This passage in the message was short, but its implications are wide-ranging. President Eisenhower, one recalls, specifically rejected the idea of federal funds being used to aid foreign countries in coping with population pressures. President Kennedy approached the matter somewhat less gingerly. In 1963 he lauded the fertility studies being conducted by the United Nations and the National Academy of Sciences, and, going one step further, approved a memorandum of Secretary of State Dean Rusk informing foreign aid missions that the United States would be receptive to requests for some forms of aid in population planning. Now it would appear that President Johnson is going to allow the government to play an even more active role.

Why has the government gradually shifted its position in the past few years and, specifically, why is President Johnson apparently confident that increased population planning aid will not set off a domestic political reaction? The most plausible answer is doubtless the great consensus throughout the world and in the United States that the economic and social well being of the underdeveloped nations will depend, in great part, on their ability to slow down the population growth rate. But of equal significance, from a political point of view, is the fact that most Catholics are now inclined to agree with this consensus; thus a major source of opposition has lessened. Two signs of a change in Catholic attitude are suggestive: In Latin America, reportedly, the Catholic hierarchy has cooperated in population study projects underwritten by American foreign aid funds; at home, in a related issue, the use of federal funds to establish a few birth control clinics in cooperation with municipal governments has not elicited strong Catholic opposition. Clearly Mr. Johnson has sniffed a change in the direction of the wind and plans to act accordingly.

To be sure, there has been some Catholic opposition to the President's intention as expressed in the State of the Union message. Monsignor John C. Knott of the Family Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference felt compelled to deny that the Church has changed its position on the immorality of

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artificial contraception and to recall the 1959 statement of the American bishops which said that "Catholics will not support any public assistance, either at home or abroad, to promote artificial birth prevention . . ." There is little reason to think that the Bishops have changed their position on this point. But then neither can it be doubted that Catholics have become far less vocal in their opposition; not support, but tacit acceptance is probably now the prevailing mood. Monsignor Knott also derided the expression "population explosion" as unscientific. Many demographers would agree with him on this semantic point; but there are very few who would accept his judgment that any prediction beyond the next ten years is "pure speculation." And there are very few who feel that the present generation can afford to ignore the present projections, however subject they may be to unforeseeable changes.

There will be no short cuts to a decent standard of living for this generation and those to come. A reduction of population growth, no matter what means are employed, can not be accomplished overnight. Nor would such a reduction, taken by itself, solve the vast economic and educational problems facing the underdeveloped nations. For all that, there is an urgent need for research and for the coordination of all those groups and nations concerned with population. The President proposes to throw more federal resources behind these needs. It is hard to see how he can do otherwise; and it becomes increasingly hard to see on what grounds Catholics can oppose his decision.

CONGRESSIONAL CHALLENGE

It is one of the ironies of history that the first use of the fourteenth amendment of the U.S. Constitution—passed expressly for the purpose of assuring freed Negroes the rights of citizenship—was to protect big business from regulation. But this amendment and, with it, the fifteenth amendment, outlawing abridgment of voting rights on account of race, are finally being put to their proper ends. Upon these amendments the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is basing its efforts to remove Mississippi's five Congressmen from their seats in the House. The MFDP's objection to them is as plain as it is strong: that they are simply not what they claim to be, that is, the Representatives of the people of Mississippi, since a substantial portion of Mississippians are systematically denied the right to vote.

Progress has not been made in Mississippi since the Civil War. In fact, the reverse is true. The 1870 statute readmitting the state to participation in Congress insisted that the "Constitution of Mississippi shall never be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen or class of citizen of the United States of the right to vote who are entitled to vote by the constitution herein recognized." The Mississippi constitution referred to gave voting privileges to all sane males over 21 and resident within the state for six months. Under this constitution there were 189,884 Negroes registered to vote in Mississippi in 1890. But since that date a series of discriminatory changes in election laws (soon to be challenged in the Supreme Court) had reduced this figure to 23,801 by 1961. This the MFDP hopes to correct.

The task will not be easy. The MFDP must prove the systematic and substantial character of the denial of Negro voting rights. Attorneys for the party will have a forty-day period in which they may use federal subpoena power to gather sworn testimony on voting infractions. (The challenged Congressmen have a similar period in which to gather evidence supporting their own position; the MFDP then has a ten-day period to collect rebuttal testimony.) Both the MFDP and the Congressmen will then file briefs before the Subcommittee on Elections and Privileges, which, unfortunately, is chaired by Representative Ashmore of South Carolina and dominated by Dixiecrats. Considerable pressure on other Congressmen and on the White House will have to be generated to force the Subcommittee to hold open hearings and consider the evidence brought before it. If all goes well, the challenge should come before the House for a vote during the latter half of the summer. But from the collection of evidence to the final vote, the MFDP will need the cooperation, the pressure, and perhaps the protection of the Justice Department, the FBI, and the White House. President Johnson's State of the Union pledge to assure the voting rights of all Americans will be on the line.

A victory for the MFDP's challenge will not only be a victory for Negro Mississippians. Northern liberals and Southern white moderates stand to profit as well. The challenged Congressmen are entrenched opponents of progressive legislation, and "entrenched" in no merely rhetorical sense. Except for the one who was just elected, the Mississippi Representatives average over 23 years in Congress—with the corresponding seniority on a multitude of committees. Further, the collapse of Mississippi's system of voter discrimination may allow the state's white moderates to play that key role which currently, except at risk of their lives, i.e., by ceasing to be moderates, they cannot.

NUCLEAR CONTROLS

In recent weeks the urgency for halting the thermonuclear arms race has been intensified. Except for a half-billion dollar reduction in the Soviet military budget (somewhat parallel to an American defense reduction) there is little indication that the USSR is at all curtailing its production of such weapons. Russian representatives still manifest few signs of becoming more conciliatory or cooperative in the matter of building on the test-ban treaty to establish international controls. Moreover, the planned deactivating of 150 American ICBM's, the shutting down of three reactors and the closing down of a number of our missile bases actually reflect America's ever-increasing destructive capability.

China's first atomic explosion last fall and French nuclear progress have increased nationalist pressures in other lands

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for their own nuclear development—in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East. Even the unwarlike Mr. Shastri bears witness to the discussion now taking place in the country of Gandhi and Nehru when he limits India's commitment not to produce its own bomb to the present. And the effect of China's bomb on the strategic situation in the Far East is one of the principal topics of Japanese Prime Minister Sato's current visit to Washington. Independent production of their own atomic weapons, greatly compounding the problem of controls, is within reach of several other nations.

Another, if less urgent, reason for progress in thermonuclear control and disarmament comes from the expanding possibilities of utilizing nuclear power for peaceful purposes. There is not only talk of excavating the new sea-level canal in Central America by this means, but the Atomic Energy Commission is contemplating a two-hundred-million dollar plant to pump water from the North over the mountains to arid Southern California and to establish a major desalinization facility there. Such countries as Australia, France, India, Israel, Rumania and the United Arab Republic have recently expressed interest in utilizing this potent source of energy for peaceful purposes. The productive possibilities for the common good are massive.

Both control of atomic weapons and important new uses of nuclear power are dependent on the reaching of new agreements by the five "have" powers, including the achievement of effective safeguards against further proliferation. The United States continues to appear willing to make further concessions. To what extent is President Johnson determined to make progress in this direction an essential part of any new accords with the Soviet Union? A substantive agreement on this issue would supply the most convincing evidence possible of the genuineness of the hoped-for more friendly Russo-American relations.

WASHINGTON REPORT

MODEST REFORMS

The first week of the new Congress produced an oddly-mixed round of political events.

The strangest was the election of Russell Long of Louisiana by the Senate Democrats as their assistant floor leader, succeeding Vice President Hubert Humphrey. On his voting record alone, Long is clearly no Humphrey. On major issues in 1963-64, he supported the Kennedy-Johnson Administration only 57 percent of the time. He not only voted against the Civil Rights Act which was not astonishing for a Louisiana senator but he also opposed the nuclear test ban treaty, medicare, and the foreign aid program. Long defeated John Pastore of Rhode Island and Mike Monroney of Oklahoma, both of whom supported the Administration on most issues.

A division among the Northern liberals brought about Long's victory. His chief sponsors were those unlikely allies, Richard Russell of Georgia and Paul Douglas of Illinois. Russell, the leader of the Southern bloc, delivered almost all of the 21 Southern members who thereby made up two-thirds of the 35 votes he needed. (It is not possible to determine the exact tally because the senators voted by secret ballot.) Douglas rallied the remaining one-third of Long's support. His motives were two-fold. As an economic liberal with a passionate concern for the underdog and a deep distrust of Wall Street and the entrenched financial interests, he felt a kinship with Long who in some important ways is a neo-populist. Like his father, Huey "the Kingfish" Long, he believes in sharing the wealth and in big government spending programs.

Douglas and Long are colleagues on the Senate Finance Committee where they have worked closely together on many tax issues. Long, for example, sponsored an amendment last year which considerably narrowed the scope of the investment credit granted industrial companies. Douglas felt sufficient rapport with Long on economic issues to overlook the latter's interventions on the Finance Committee on behalf of the oil and gas industry and the New Orleans tourist industry—which accounted for much of the bitter opposition to the Kennedy Administration's effort to tighten up on expense account deductions.

Douglas's second motive in backing Long was his desire to help heal the wounds of the civil rights struggle that has divided Northern and Southern Democrats in the Senate for a quarter-century. He sees Long as the forerunner of the new generation of more progressive Southern Democrats who will emerge now that the incubus of the race issue is beginning to lift from the political life of that region. Senators Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, Quentin Burdick of North Dakota, and several other Northerners went along with Douglas in this judgment. Long, who started campaigning for this job during the week last August that the Democratic Convention nominated Humphrey for Vice President, had the further advantage of an early start.

Monroney entered the contest only after the November election when he grew buoyant after his unexpected success in helping to elect 33-year-old Fred Harris over the favored Goldwater Republican candidate, ex-football coach Bud Wilkinson. Monroney, who polled 14 votes on the first ballot and was thus eliminated as the low man, never

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had a chance unless the two front-runners had deadlocked, and he could have emerged as the compromise choice.

Pastore made his availability known almost as early as Long, but he did not campaign so actively. A rather intense, ambitious man, he did not have as many personal friendships to draw upon in unexpected places as did the more relaxed and convivial Long. Pastore's candidacy did not sit well with the Douglas group. They remembered that during the lengthy, unsuccessful liberal filibuster in 1962 against the bill giving control of the communications satellite to a private firm, Long supported the filibuster while Pastore was active in organizing the cloture move that ended it.

When the Northerners recognized that the Pastore candidacy was not generating much steam, they attempted to put forward other possibilities such as Edmund Muskie of Maine or Philip Hart of Michigan. But neither of them went anywhere. It is striking that the members of "the class of '58" who were all re-elected last fall, are generally well-regarded as competent, conscientious legislators, but none has demonstrated leadership qualities. Freshman Senator Robert Kennedy is patently a leader with enough energy, aggressiveness, and willpower to master any job the Senate has to offer, but it would have required exceptional imagination for the Democrats to choose a newcomer.

The post of assistant majority leader is so important because Senator Mike Mansfield, the majority leader, is so mild and indifferent. During much of the past four years, Humphrey was leader in all but name. Long has the gusto and the personal force, but no one—including the two disparate factions that joined to elect him—quite knows in what direction he will expend it.

The House Democrats scored gains in the battle for congressional reform which by historical and relative standards were impressive but which by absolute standards were quite modest. They made a symbolic attack on the seniority system by stripping Representatives Albert Watson of South Carolina and John Bell Williams of Mississippi of their committee rank because of their support of Goldwater in the last election. Both men stay on their respective committees, but they have to start over again on the seniority ladder, ranking below the new freshmen. Watson had relatively little seniority on the Post Office Committee, but Williams was the second-ranking member of the powerful Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee which supervises most of the independent regulatory commissions. Moreover, Williams, a man of brooding eyes and saturnine smile, might have stepped from the pages of a Faulkner novel. He has been the tireless, vigilant sheep-dog of the Southern flock in the House in enforcing uniformity and fanaticism on the race issue.

The House also approved three rules changes, one of them restoring the 21-day rule that was in effect in the Congress of 1949-50 and a second making it easier to send bills to conference. Both reforms clip the powers of the Rules Committee. The third change dispensing with the need for an engrossed copy of a bill before vote on final passage reduces by one the possibilities for obstructionism.

The difficulty with these reforms is that the attack on seniority was only symbolic, that the two curbs on the Rules Committee can always be repealed as the 21-day rule was in 1951, and there remain a dozen ways to obstruct legislation other than the request for an engrossed copy. In other words, the Democratic majority in the House only peripherally enlarged the power of the Speaker, did not revive the authority of the party caucus at all, and did not build into the life of the House any new tradition of majority party responsibility and coherence.

Representative Richard Bolling of Missouri is the proponent of a plan that would yoke together a strong speaker and an active caucus. Under his plan, the majority members of the House Ways and Means Committee who themselves would be appointed by the Speaker would, as they now do, fill all other committee assignments. But instead of their choices being reported directly to the whole House where they are now approved *pro forma*, they would be submitted first to a vote of the majority caucus in which members elevated by seniority to committee chairmanships could be vetoed. Speaker McCormack prefers the present loose, decentralized system, and the Democratic liberals chose not to push the Bolling plan. As it was, the three modest rules changes won by only 23 votes in the House, making the support of 16 liberal Republicans crucial. Judge Howard Smith, the ancient Virginia Democrat who chairs the Rules Committee and heads the Southern half of the Republican-Southern Democratic coalition, demonstrated once again his persistent power by pulling 71 of his fellow Democrats into the coalition against the rules changes. He was not strong enough to prevail but he proved he is still a continuing threat to the leadership. Notwithstanding the 295-to-140 Democratic majority in the House, the leadership can take nothing for granted. Any day they grow slack and careless and fail to rally all their strength, Judge Smith and his irreconcilable conservatives will be there to trip them.

The substitution of Representative Gerald Ford of Michigan for Charles Halleck of Indiana as Republican floor leader was a triumph of despair rather than of hope. The decisive votes were cast by those Republicans who were indifferent to both candidates but voted for Ford because they could think of no answer to the question—"What do we have to lose by making a change?" How much they have to gain depends upon whether Ford displays more flair and finesse than most observers expect. Halleck stood for stolid, unwearying negativism. Ford was the candidate of those militants who wanted more of the same but with fresh zeal and of those progressive dissidents who yearn vaguely for "Republican alternatives." The new minority leader will have no easy time satisfying these contradictory impulses. WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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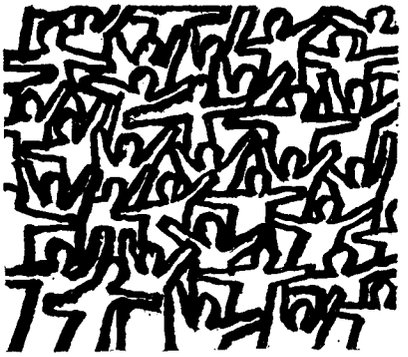

COMMUNISM IN ASIA

It has adapted Western values to Eastern needs

TISSA BALASURIYA

The average American and the average Asian are friendly persons; yet, at present, the two seem to be drifting away from each other in many areas. In some places they are even in conflict. One of the main causes of misunderstanding is Communism—the official ideology of some Asian countries and the *bête noire* of U.S. foreign policy. In order that both Asia and the U.S. may be able to give a positive, creative response to the challenge of Communism in Asia, instead of being merely negative and defensive, it is necessary to try to appreciate the possible values implied in Communism despite its hideous brutality. Communism in Asia is as varied as the peoples of Asia, and yet shares some of the common features of modern independent, underdeveloped Asia. Communism seems to have a special message and inspiration to the poorer continents of the world. China, Cuba and the Congo bear witness today to the inspiration that it can communicate to the have-nots of humanity.

Prior to independence the Communist parties of the Asian countries provided a rational and fairly coherent explanation of imperialism and its evils, engaging themselves in an unrelenting struggle against the Western, capitalist, colonial exploiters. At a time when the United States was tacitly conniving in European exploitation of Asia, and when even religious leaders were silent about it, Marxian Communists from China to Algeria held aloft the banner of freedom and often suffered imprisonment and social ostracism for their belief in a better world. Once these countries had freed themselves, however, they found the United States and the religious bodies ready to join the bandwagon of the uncommitted nations and protest eternal fidelity to the cause of freedom and democracy. Many in the West seem to expect the Asian countries to overlook the historical record of the West in Asia.

With independence, the Asian countries have entered an even more significant phase in their modernization. They are engaged in the tremendous task of traversing the course of centuries in a few decades in order to make life and freedom meaningful to their rapidly increasing populations. Having won political freedom they seek a de-alienation in other spheres too: military, economic, cultural, and religious. In the same vein they desire to rediscover their authentic national identities in the modern world. All of these things they would like to achieve speedily, rationally, and autonomously—at least such would seem to be the desires of the more articulate among them. Though handicapped by past policies and the present shortage of leadership and capital, these countries are setting out to effect, in a short period, great transformations in their economies and social relations. The very consciousness of their ancient heritage spurs them on not only to emulate the great developments of the West but also to set the stamp of their being on the world of the future. Faced with the vast gap between their desires and present realities, they look for leadership to persons and ideologies.

Communism, which rationalized the revolt of the Asians against foreign domination, offers to lead them during the next stage of their march through the desert to the promised land. It has the advantage of a definite philosophy of history and of clear-cut solutions for the present stage of Asian development—even though these solutions may, admittedly, not always be correct or the best. The Communists interpret the present situation in many Asian countries in terms of

FATHER TISSA BALASURIYA, O.M.I., *is a lecturer in Economics and Applied Theology at Aquinas University College, Ceylon. He recently completed a study and lecture tour around the world.*

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the class struggle against the native, feudal aristocracy, the national bourgeoisie and the relics of foreign capitalism.

Though dogmatic in ideology, they display a remarkable flexibility of approach and adaptation to circumstances, which some may dub opportunism and others may regard as a continual incarnation and *aggiornamento* of the living reality of social change. Thus Communists are today champions of nationalism, socialism and the neutralism of these Asian countries. They have shown a remarkable capacity for working from within the legitimate aspirations—and even prejudices—of the Asian peoples. Neither Christian missionaries nor the Western powers have so far demonstrated such potentialities of incarnation within Asian society. Even in daily life, Communist leaders are closer to the poor people in their slums and struggles than are either the pastors of the churches or the representatives and local allies of the "free world."

Communists in Asia find a convenient scapegoat in international capitalism, especially in the investments and economic and military policies of the United States. They capitalize on the Asian resentment of the superiority complex of the Western powers; or they exploit the inferiority complex and the desire for superiority of the Asians. The existence of the strong and viable Communist bloc is for the long-colonized Asian nations a rather useful countervailing power against the possible ruses of the former colonial masters and of the international capital combines. In the same way, the West is a necessary balance against the threat of Communism. In international affairs the Asian countries are susceptible to the influence of the ideas of international socialism espoused by Marxism. No other body of thought and action has any overall solutions or suggestions for meeting the problems of world justice in a speedy and adequate manner. The Western powers seem interested only in maintaining the present inequalities in the distribution of the resources of the world while granting some economic aid to the have-not countries. Nor has Christian social thinking yet considered adequately the problems of world justice.

In the relations among nations, the Communists in Asia are not slow to advocate a policy of "Asia for the Asians"—a sort of Monroe Doctrine. They are almost alone in being bold enough to demand the nationalization of the foreign assets within free Asian countries. Unremittingly they underline the loss of foreign exchange involved and the difficulty of worthwhile national economic planning because of the existence of such foreign economic enclaves. Militarily they campaign for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Asian countries and oppose the setting up of military bases by foreign powers. Their solutions thus oppose political, economic and military alienation. Whenever Communists themselves infiltrate, they are shrewd enough to leave at least a semblance of power in the hands of the nationals.

Within the country, though they preach a doctrine of violence and class war, they generally try to keep clear of the racial, linguistic and religious divisions which tend to disrupt the national unity of the Asian countries. Thus they are able to appear as a force for internal cohesion based on loyalty to the interests of the workers and peasants who form the vast majority of these nations. They encourage the development of the native Asian cultures and are not slow to recognize the social revolutionary potential in the creative arts. Authors and artists who portray the conditions and yearnings of our peoples find some inspiration in Marxism and encouragement from Communists, including the governments of the Communist bloc.

Communists in Asia have been careful not to present themselves as the enemies or supplanters of the ancient religions. On the contrary they try to work from within them, both with reference to persons and ideas—especially the social inspiration and sense of human brotherhood of the religions. Thus they may assert that there is no contradiction between Marxism and a religion like Buddhism which is evolutionistic and not necessarily theistic. They compare the sense of brotherhood and equality of Islam with the Marxist vision of a world of justice and equality. Even many Christians have been persuaded by them that Marxism really tries to implement the social exigencies of the gospel, and that they could be Christian in religion and Marxist in political persuasion. In the absence of a comparable social dynamism among Christians, the more socially conscious or socially oppressed among the Christians tend towards Marxism in politics (as in Kerala, the most Christian region of India, which voted in the world's first freely elected Communist government).

Communism is, in a sense, a bridge between the East and the West, as it presents to Asian society certain humanist values such as justice, equality, fair play, and the haunting desire to develop the world of man for his own sake. Communism is a medium through which the values of the West, such as those of Greek civilization, Roman order, the European renaissance, the industrial and technological revolutions, the secularist humanism and Judaeo-Christian messianism, present themselves to Asia without the repulsive odor of Western colonialism and economic imperialism or the humiliating foreignness of the Christian missionary methods. Historical Marxism is essentially a serious-minded, humanist, collectivist reaction against the individualistic, sentimental, asocial, pietistic Christianity of nineteenth-century Europe. In its Asian avatar it tends to counterbalance the other worldly, contemplative, passivist approaches of many of the ancient oriental religions, which are facing severe strain due to the impact of rapid technical and social change. It is perhaps not mere chance that China which has the deepest humanist strain in her religions and culture, should have been the first to become Communist in Asia.

Marxism has then opted to coexist with the ancient religions and to work from within them toward the realization of its revolutionary aims. Christianity, on the other hand, has not yet demonstrated convincingly that it is not intent on replacing these "pagan" religions and practices. Marxists had implicitly a secretariat for non-Christian religions long

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before 1964. Is this another instance in which the children of this world are wiser than the children of light . . . or is it the light itself that we lacked? In any case many Asian countries such as India are reluctant to grant residence permits to missionaries, though they are less inclined to keep out representatives of Communist countries or technicians from the U.S.S.R. This should make us ponder—for militant atheists have been more agile in presenting their message than missionary theists.

In the ideological, cultural, and social melting pot that is Asia today, Communism has an advantage in proposing definite policies for the rapid development of the countries. They demand land reforms, rationalization of agriculture, the break-up of big holdings by private groups, and rapid industrialization with capital obtained by the nationalization of foreign plantations, mines, banking, insurance and trading agencies. They campaign for social welfare in the pre-revolutionary stage, and for social restraint in the post-revolutionary period in order to build up the social capital of the nation. Socialism in production and distribution is conceived as a means of planning economic development and of curtailing the unfair profits of property owners and middlemen, both local and foreign. They also provide an important political catalyst and dynamic within Asian societies which tend to install feudal or military rulers and leave much room for inefficiency, nepotism and corruption. Communists are not mere doctrinaire theoreticians who publish an occasonal manifesto and thereafter gloat over it in self-contentment. They are men of vision who are thoroughly committed to the realization of the type of world they believe in. Their scientific analysis of history, their tremendous vision of a New Jerusalem on earth and their sense of practical apostolic commitment to the cause, can, in spite of their errors and vices, attract the best men and women of a society.

To an impatient Asia desirous of hurrying toward its economic development, the examples of Russia and China —backward nations that picked up economic momentum in a couple of decades—are more meaningful than the experience of the Western countries. Mao Tse-tung has given China fifteen years of unity, discipline and relative internal peace, something which she had not enjoyed during the previous century. At a great price, social conditions are being improved. China today is economically autonomous, politically respected by all countries, culturally resurgent and socially much more homogeneous than ever before. No country in Europe or America developed rapidly without generating problems of freedom and social justice—as proved by the course of the industrial revolution in any European country or in the United States.

During the past fifteen years the Chinese have also averted the threat of major famines and reduced the death rate. Though the birth rate may have fallen somewhat, the population has increased from about 540 million in 1949 to over 700 million today. The Communist regime has thus had to provide in the course of fifteen years for an *additional* population of 150-200 millions, a population equal to that of the United States. Some may dislike this as these are Chinese; but for those who value human life and a fall in the death rate, it means that the right to life has been made real for many millions who would otherwise have withered away because of war, poverty and misery. The fall in the Chinese death rate from 18 to 11 per 1000 between 1952 and 1957 means that 5,000,000 fewer persons, especially among the children, die each year.

Some may debate whether the existence of many with fewer goods is preferable to the better existence of a smaller number with greater privileges. An affluent society is not compelled by circumstances to think of human rights in terms of existence itself. The Communists seem to have preferred the existence of many to the privileged existence of a few. They have denied political freedom, but given much else; it was a sad option, but the success of Communism in capturing China was mainly due to the inability of the earlier governments or the West to inspire and lead China to rapid progress. The appeal of the Chinese experiment to the Asians consists in the ability of China to have mastered her problems by her own efforts, without being, as Mao says, "bought over by imperialism, or cowed by it." But the costs involved are so great that the soul of many Asian countries is not committed to Communism.

Though atheistic and opportunistic, Communism's appeal consists in a moral indignation against all forms of gross inequality, injustice and exploitation. Americans should seriously ask themselves why is it that so many peoples in so many countries seem to feel inclined to accept the Communist accusation of "economic imperialism" levelled against the United States, especially since the end of the colonial empires of the European powers. It is good to reflect on some of the words of Mao:

"Of all classes in the world the proletariat is the most eager to change its position; next comes the semi-proletariat; for the former possesses nothing at all, while the latter is not much better off.

"The present situation, in which the U.S. controls a majority in the U.N. and dominates many parts of the world, is a transient one, which will eventually be changed.

"China's situation as a poor country, denied her rights in international affairs, will also be changed—a poor country will be changed into a rich country, a country denied her rights will be changed into a country enjoying her rights—a transformation of things into their opposites."

Like the U.S.S.R. in the early years of its revolution, China feels threatened by the Western powers, and particularly by the United States which has established its military bases in so many areas close to China. Americans grow jittery when the Russians attempt to establish nuclear missile bases in Cuba; yet they expect others to feel no uneasiness about U.S. nuclear weapons close to their territory. The United States is prepared to resort to nuclear war for the maintenance of the world status quo; the Chinese want to wage a continual war to build a

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socialist world. The question that Americans do not discuss adequately is whether the status quo really merits the right to be preserved at all costs. Evidently, Americans feel they have little to lose in maintaining their present military and economic hegemony over vast areas of humanity.

Communist theory, the lesson of the history of the world during the twentieth century and the logic of demography seem to convince the Chinese Communists that victory is on the side of the progressive forces of the poor majority of mankind. We need not share this optimism, but it is sad for the world that the two champions pride themselves in the justice of their opposing causes and the power of their weapons instead of trying to understand each other and spare humanity a third world war. How far does American public opinion today, and the present content of the education of youth favor a frank dialogue with the Communist world and its claims—which are not always altogether unjust or unfounded? World peace may depend on this loyal dialogue.

From the point of view of *Asians* it may be helpful for Americans to reflect that:

1. The American alternative of free enterprise and political democracy does not present an over-all philosophy, theory of history or adequate practical programs on a world level. There is no comparable capitalist response to the Marxist mystique and messianic, apocalyptic conviction in the realization of the New Jerusalem here and now.

2. Asian society has never really known political democracy as some countries in the West conceive it; they are not unused to paternalism and even military rule; nor is collective, communal enterprise without almost continous historical precedent in Asia, which has long known the large family system, and more or less voluntary cooperation in economic activity. Hence the individualistic philosphy of free enterprise and the mechanism of political democracy have no necessary, magical effect on the Asian mind or emotions. As for the rights implied in democracy they would tend to lay the accent as much on economic democracy as on political democracy—and in this they can hardly look to the United States for inspiration or understanding.

3. Mere military strategy and piecemeal economic aid that tends to preserve the fundamental property relations in the world do not impress many Asian countries sufficiently to convince them of the superiority or inherent nobility of the Western claim to their allegiance.

4. There seems to be a sad lack of communication between the idealism that inspires many individual Americans and groups and the Asian peoples. Very often it is the power blocs within each society that speak for the peoples; and power blocs are not incapable of misleading people into attitudes of distrust and hatred. The apparently quasi-totalitarian hold of the purely capitalist elements within American society on the thought and prejudices of the citizens is a great obstacle to understanding among the peoples of the world.

5. Communism, in spite of its totalitarianism, has demonstrated a more spontaneous vitality in Asia than Christianity seems to have been capable of generating. They have been more successful in adapting their message to Asian needs and sentiments, and in incarnating themselves within the cultural and social institutions of these countries. They have spoken more clearly to the underprivileged and have evoked and inspired a leadership from among the poorer classes of Asian society—in contrast, Church leadership is often confined to the clergy and the educated or well-to-do laity.

A world of spirits and imps

ISAAC BASHEVIS SINGER

LOTHAR KAHN

Isaac Bashevis Singer's most recent collection of short stories, *Short Friday,* is likely to enhance the author's already considerable reputation as the foremost Yiddish story-teller of our time and as an original literary figure by any standard.

In many respects Singer's originality surpasses that of the more widely acclaimed heroes of the literary Valhalla. To be sure, not all stories in this—or his earlier collections, *Gimpel the Fool* and *The Spinoza of Market Street*—are of even quality. Two or three are quite bad. But on the whole Singer's batting average remains surprisingly high, even while he is only attempting many variations in a formula we have come to know. Despite physical settings that relate him primarily to one time and one place, the inner substance of his work is characterized by a view of man, and his sojourn on earth, that is uniquely universal.

LOTHAR KAHN *is a professor in the Department of Modern Languages at Central Connecticut State College. This is his first appearance in Commonweal.*

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To look first at the externals: Singer's world is mainly the shtetl of a past period, most commonly the villages around Lublin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The people in these villages are busy little bees whose entire existence revolves around the do's and don't's of the Torah, whose men avidly study the Talmud and ply their trade, whose women exchange gossip at the ritual bath and are the joyous or distraught priestesses of their home. But near or above the villages and intertwined with their existence, is another world, one of spirits and imps, elves and devils. Like the villagers themselves, these supernatural creatures are good and bad, kind-hearted and destructive.

The boundary-lines between the Torah-obsessed villagers and this nether-world are thin and often unrecognizable. For purposes of their own, in Faustian fashion, the former will invoke the aid of the latter who obligingly descend (or rise) to do their bidding. But on occasion—and especially in this volume—the role is reversed. The supernatural creature has a yen for one of the villagers and will not rest until he has come face to face with his victim. Real and unreal are but vaguely distinguished in the work of Isaac Bashevis Singer, for the real is forever tinged with the unreal and the unreal frequently appears as the real.

Villagers and their spirits are part of the cosmic vision of Isaac Bashevis Singer. On rare occasions, of course, his imps become extraordinarily ambitious and cross the Atlantic to befuddle a Jew in Miami, or, more often, to taunt and to tempt him. In one story, a Jew in Miami is annoyed at attracting attention for reading a Yiddish paper. In a careless moment he wishes for a hotel all to himself, a wish overheard by an imp and promptly granted by him, much to the hero's regret. But, by and large, as in the earlier tales, heroes and imps prefer the more natural setting of the Lublin countryside, and its more primitive but spiritual creatures, to the conspicuous consumers of Miami Beach or fashionable Manhattan.

The supernatural creatures who pop in and out of Singer's stories are more than symbols of good and evil, of temptation and resistance. Singer does, of course, use them in this capacity, but he goes beyond this. They are—pardon the thought—ghosts of flesh and blood, each with a distinctive character of his own which suggests the far-out limits of Singer's imagination. One story, in which a ghost is the hero, his supernatural abode the place of life, and the earth to which he is consigned the real death, suggests once again the seriousness with which Singer regards supernatural phenomena. It suggests further just how far Singer has digressed from the rational mainstream of Yiddish literature.

Nowhere is Singer's One World of the real and the supernatural more subtly effected than in the story of "Esther Kreindl the Second." Others might have wanted to write this story as a science fiction exercise or as a tale of pure fantasy. In Singer's hands it is taken out of both spheres and transmuted into a convincing and strangely touching story of love and devotion. It is here that Singer reaches the heights of his unique skill as a topnotch narrative craftsman, resourceful inventor and mature philosopher of human existence.

If these are the external trimmings of Singer's tales, the substance of the stories show him to be a moralist, preoccupied with what he himself calls the "eternal questions": The wherefores of existence, the rise and fall of men, the devil and angel that perennially use Man as a battlefield, the God who acts in a fashion that can only evoke the protest of Man, the one-sided dialogue which can have no answer. His tales tell of noble intent and evil action, but also of evil intent resulting in noble action. The nonrationalist element in Singer permits of no concept of human behavior that includes the notion of predictable action or allows human deeds to be reduced to scientific laws.

The ways of men are infinite in their variety and few practitioners of fiction have illustrated better their infinite variety and unpredictability. The actions of Singer's protagonists range from supreme goodness to utter depravity. Only rarely does he even hint at the motivation for good; like the religious pessimist he is, he is less reluctant to portray the sources of evil. But not infrequent are those points on Singer's map of human behavior at which good and evil meet for better or for worse. Yet Singer neither idealizes the good of some characters nor does he vilify the evil of others. Toward all he extends a charitable hand as toward the children, more or less fortunate, of an inscrutable God.

Singer's stories, as well as his better known novels, are heavily interspersed with passionate expressions of protest against a God whose ways appear cruel to men, or certainly beyond human comprehension. The men with one eye going blind; the men so short and unmanly that they evoke laughter even when their actions merit respect; the women with unseemly hairy growths; hunchbacked figures; starving animals, animals cruelly slaughtered to incite men to sexual lust—all these project the Jacob figure grappling with the unintelligible ways of God and pleading for enlightenment. Most of Singer's characters want and need a God. Some even draw comfort from the fact, as does Zeidlus the Pope, that there is a devil. For if there is a devil, there must also be a God. It was after all the proof of God which Zeidlus had craved to the point of falling victim to temptation.

With this new set of stories Isaac Singer makes it clear that Man is his own demon and that some demons are, in fact, terrified by the competition. As one of his devils put it, none of his kind could have conceived of the evil deeds which the Nazis performed on such a grandiose scale. The last demon of one of his tales is indeed forced into retirement by the dwarflike status to which man's inhumanity has reduced him.

Thus Singer keeps reiterating the great questions, even as he never allows them to dominate his concern for character, movement, and inventiveness of situations. Where Singer stands precisely on these "great questions" cannot

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be gleaned with certainty from his fiction. The attempt has been made, but with dubious success. Despite the prevalence in his tales of greed and lust, temptations inherent in the human condition, Singer never ceases to reaffirm the value of life. Is is especially in the stories of the Ghetto that, despite human foibles and evil deeds, he never ceases to chant the song of life. Even as he regrets the ugly, he can discern the beautiful; as he deplores evil, he recognizes good; as he is frightened by selfishness and brutish egoism, he upholds those who are charitable.

Singer is a more Jewish author even than Mauriac, Greene or Bernanos are Catholic writers. The latter reflect in the main a Catholic ethic and the metaphysics underlying it. Singer achieves the same for Judaism. But, unlike Catholicism, Judaism is more than a religion and Singer clearly mirrors this fact. It is a Jewish language which nurtures him, Jewish folklore which provides his frame, Jewish history which he seeks to reinterpret. But unlike the great Catholic writers of our time, Singer's thought has either wavered, been lacking in consistency, or remained partly inscrutable. In any case, *Short Friday* will re-enforce the faith of his old friends and win for him some new ones.

A threat to labor's old order

REBELLION IN STEEL

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS

David McDonald is a large and burly man. It did not seem completely in character last November when he told 900 Steelworkers in Midland, Pa., that the only reason he was seeking another term as President was "because I love you." If the appeal appeared out of place in a union hall full of rough-hewn Pennsylvania mill workers, it only reflected the seemingly strange leadership for the past decade in the union dealing with the nation's most basic industry. And it may not be enough to convince a majority of the 1.2-million members of the United Steelworkers of America that they should retain their silver-haired leader in his $50,000-a-year post when they vote Febraury 9. McDonald, who has told all who would hear that he is "heartsick" over the open rebellion in his union, may well be next on the lists of old-line labor leaders who have been thrown out in a series of rank-and-file revolts that suggest a revival of the militancy of the 1930s.

The flag of insurgency in the Steelworkers was raised by a trio of its most powerful secondary leadership about a week before McDonald's laments at the Midland union hall. His opponent, the USW's international secretary-treasurer, I. W. Abel, is making an all-out drive which appears headed for success. The top lieutenants in the revolt, Buffalo's Joseph P. Molony and Milwaukee's Walter J. Burke, share with Abel a pride as mill workers in the middle 30s, and founding members of John L. Lewis's Steel Workers Organizing Committee. On the stump in union halls throughout the country's steel towns, the insurgents have not hesitated to remind rank-and-filers that McDonald was a Carnegie Tech graduate who has himself never worked outside a mill office.

The revolt in Steel Labor cannot be dismissed as just another bid for power by second-echelon union leadership. For one thing, the Abel-Burke-Molony ticket all stand to be out of a job if their campaign fails. Abel is making a big personal gamble for he could have ridden out four more years of his present $35,000-a-year job. Burke and Molony had to give up lucrative directorships to make the challenge with Abel. Decisions such as this are not common among the entrenched leadership of today's mass industrial unions. Since World War II the theory of top management has prevailed in most of the larger unions, with less and less participation coming from the local level.

Unions which were formed in the strife-torn years of organization thirty years ago were led by almost legendary figures like Lewis and Philip Murray, having braved national Guardsmen and State Troopers who unleashed tear gas and billy clubs as part of the massive resistance of the corporate establishment. But the post-war prosperity brought with it new leadership theories, and the special summer courses for trade unionists at places like Cornell University soon blossomed into four-year degree programs for future union management. The Memorial Day massacre and John L. Lewis became Labor History 102. Union administrators in the five-figure bracket began to look more and more like their would-be antagonists on the other side of the bargaining table.

Today the labor movement has all but lost its fire-eaters. Its best-known figure is Jimmy Hoffa, who runs a union officially excommunicated by the House of Labor. In most of the public mind he is a crook and a fixer of juries, yet his Teamsters enjoy the largest membership and the greatest

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS, *a journalist in upstate New York, is a former steelworker. He won the 1964 editorial award of the Catholic Press Association.*

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rank-and-file militancy of them all. American labor, speculates Murray Kempton, appears to be at the point reached by the Donner party where the main source of interest is who will be cooked, roasted and eaten next.

Structural changes in the economy, especially automation and rising unemployment, along with the shift from manufacturing to service and government jobs have visited a terrible vengeance on organized labor. The leadership in many of the industrial and craft unions have been unable to develop any long-range solutions to rank-and-file dissatisfaction. Accordingly, insurgent movements have hit unions faced with declining employment (manufacturing) and in areas where jobs are being created (public employees and teachers). In the basic industries, unions have been placed on the defensive and strong membership demands have been built up for job security, early retirement and protection from automation.

In the white-collar unions, the old-line leadership is confronted with the militancy of a growing membership seeking harder bargaining and more money demands. Built-in safeguards against any challenges to entrenched leadership have proved unsuccessful in several protest movements over the past year. Three unions with a total membership of more than a half-million underwent new leadership during 1964. The Textile Workers, State County & Municipal Employees and the United Federation of Teachers all elected slates opposed to the old-line leadership by impressive margins and despite all the disadvantages of challenging an incumbent organization.

In the West, a Teamsters-backed independent union won collective bargaining rights for over 20,000 papermill workers away from two AFL-CIO unions and then proceeded to call the first strike in West Coast mills in three decades. Even Harry Bridges' longshoremen, expelled from "respectable" Labor for their left-wing militancy, face a challenge aimed at alleged managerial dictatorship. It is in Steel Labor that the revolt against the old-line leadership has become big news. For an insurgent victory in a top union is bound to cause ripples which may even splash the rock of George Meany's fortress in Washington.

McDonald is in deep trouble in the union which he has steered with apparent success for 12 years. In December the results of the international's nominations indicated he was running behind challenger Abel by more than 400 out of some 2300 certifications. Both Molony and Burke ran ahead of McDonald men. An unsmiling McDonald dismissed the results of the nominations with the suggestion that he had yet to engage the enemy.

If McDonald travels farther than the taxi ride from his headquarters to the U.S. Steel building, it will surprise those around him. He has accepted the rebellion as an act of personal disloyalty by his top aides, yet so far has maintained his public composure and indicates little apparent concern over the challenge. Yet the cognizance that he has paid to the Abel insurrection betrays McDonald's dilemma.

After the Abel group announced its slate, McDonald proposed that the Feb. 9 vote be tallied by the American Arbitration Association. The insurgents observed, however, that the Steelworker's constitution calls for the services of the Honest Ballot Association. On January 4, McDonald's suggestion was defeated by his own executive board—an important preliminary victory for the Abel forces.

"The suggestion smacks of the utter contempt which he (McDonald) holds for the rank and file," Molony had declared. "He would also have us wash our union laundry before the public in making a grandstand play that Brother Abel debate the issues on television. We have urged the proper medium—the international's newspaper going to all members, but he has declined the offer."

Abel supporters feel that the nominations are a bellwether of the actual vote. They recall that in 1956, when Molony had challenged Hague for the vice presidency, the nominations and the actual vote were proportionate.

McDonald, however, has comforted himself with a poll taken by Oliver Quayle, one of the battery of public opinion samplers used by President Johnson prior to the election. The results showed McDonald leading with a substantial 58 per cent, a figure at variance with the 1310-904 nomination results which place his rival in the lead.

Abelites decry the Quayle poll, claiming that no poll takers were to be found in places like Buffalo, Milwaukee or Chicago, although McDonald forces claimed it to be a thorough sampling of millworkers in basic steel, aluminum and allied industries.

Apart from the polls and the results of the nominations, the rebels bring an impressive roster of more than half of the district directors of the union, who in turn comprise the international executive board. Geographically, the insurgent ticket is weighted with New York, Milwaukee, Central and Western Canada and the Chicago-Calumet locals, themselves about one-third of the Steelworkers membership. McDonald's pockets of strength are in various Pennsylvania steel towns, Youngstown, Philadelphia and the West Coast.

The revolt in Steel, is far deeper than the last challenge made against McDonald in 1957 by an unknown local leader, Donald Rarick of the U. S. Steel plant in Irwin, Pa. Running with little formal organization, Rarick was able to roll up 223,516 votes to McDonald's 404,172. David McDonald continued to ignore the rumbles from the mills, however. He delegated to his secretary-treasurer the tasks of attending and addressing local and district meetings, retirement parties and pensioner's dinners. And "Abe" Abel gained from his chief's aloofness to the rank and file.

The stories became common in the taverns adjacent to the plant gates that McDonald found it distasteful to tour an open hearth, and that to sleep in a hotel in a Minnesota mining town would be a supreme sacrifice. And indeed the silver-haired union leader learned to enjoy the company of steel executives. He became a familiar figure

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at the country clubs of Pittsburgh and night spots from Manhattan to Los Angeles. The Abel crowd has made much of Dave's second home in Palm Springs and his frustrated desire to be accepted into the executive circle that frequents the Duquesne Club.

"It is a tragedy for anyone not born rich to look this much as if he were," wrote columnist Murray Kempton after McDonald summoned some 700 local presidents to a meeting in New York City, and had come to meet the press two hours late. "To the steelworker he must look like one of those men the company decides would be better salesmen if they toured the plant once or twice."

Yet for all these gripes in the high-living department—a common one among almost all union memberships—the anti-McDonald forces are pegging their drive more on the charge that he has neglected the problems of the union's 3300 locals. Abel forces claim that McDonald has allowed the second largest of the mass industrial unions which forged the CIO to be recast as a corporate-image trade union. They say that the drastic decline in membership of the Steelworkers (down 150,000 in the past decade) must be offset by a more militant posture to become an influential force in the national economy.

The complaint that has hurt McDonald the most concerns the no-strike pledges built in the international's contracts for local grievances, something which has bogged down grievance machinery and produced dissatisfaction in many mill towns. The charge of substandard agreements is also thrown at the Steelworkers' chief. The 1960, 1962 and 1963 steel settlements resulted in either modest wage increases or none at all, and a loss of the cost-of-living protection which was won in the 1956 strike. Alleged "secret negotiations" have been scored in USW settlements over the past few years. McDonald's Human Relations Committee, composed of labor-management representatives to draw up the basis for a continuous contact between negotiations, has been the target.

The Wage Policy Committee—composed of local leaders from the various districts—has felt that its traditional function has been bypassed. Yet McDonald can claim that his union members draw one of the highest hourly rates in manufacturing—$3.70 and an additional 67 cents an hour in fringe benefits. He also has the 13-week sabbatical, or vacation with pay—a program won for all hourly workers in the top half of the seniority ranks of each steel company the union has a contract with.

In fighting for his presidency, McDonald will have to do more than produce phrases like "total job security," however. He has already reminded the faithful in those union halls he has ventured into that he was Phil Murray's choice, and if there is a sainthood in the labor movement, the soft-spoken Murray is still within it.

Old-timers who went through the freezing nights on the picket lines in Bethlehem and Lackawanna and Youngstown recall the reverence attached to Phil Murray. Unlike many of his contemporary labor leaders, he never became a stuffed shirt of business unionism after the battle was won. Men in the plants wept when he died.

Dave McDonald, who attends the best shows with a religious following and who once held up an issue of *Variety* in which he had been mentioned to an assembled throng of newsmen, still talks of the aspirations he had for the stage before Murray tapped him as his heir-apparent. It may be prophetic that he now resembles a fading matinee idol, but more interesting for a labor movement which has lost that militancy of three decades ago is the nature of the rebels who may replace him.

For they are no product of the post-war managerial unionism or the technician-business agent leadership. The ticket which shows every indication of securing control of the third largest union in the country next month is from that almost-forgotten era of social upheaval. It may bear heavy implications for the rest of the nation's unions.

COMMONWEAL FOR THE SPRING TERM

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CAROL JOHNSON

ON ECSTASY

> Objection I. It would seem that ecstasy is not an effect of love. For ecstasy seems to imply loss of reason. But love does not always result in loss of reason: for lovers are masters of themselves at times. Therefore love does not cause ecstasy.
>
> St. Thomas Aquinas: *Summa Theologica* II q.xxviii, a.3.

Let those who care for ecstasy repent.
It is not love, or the effect of love.
Love, it would seem, does not always result.
Yet lovers, at times, are masters of themselves,
therefore dispensing ecstasy by thought.
Reason and loss of reason are together
upon otherwise undistinguished occasions taught:
a learnable skill like rhetoric, may beget
a kind of ecstasy. On the other hand,
it may bestir a reasonable doubt.
We are dealing here with implications less
evident than their effects, indeed,
we may surmise surpassing those respects.
What is desired may well be a loss
when reason pays to reason passion's due:
in darkness an indenturing of light,
not preconceived so much as compassing
intuitable juncture—which is to touch
the very source of metaphor, to begin
a flight that ends in falling, willingly.

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THE STAGE

I believe that Edward Albee has asked reviewers not to discuss the plot of his new play in detail: so out of deference to this Hitchcockian whim, I shall content myself here with a few cryptic reflections, calculated to leave the matter one hundred percent obscure.

There are, as every mid-cult critic knows, two things you can do when you are shook up and shocked to the core by a work of art. You can pretend to be bored, or you can pretend to be amused. "I found Lady Chatterly dull" is the first (or Orville Prescott) reaction; "I found it a scream" is response number two.

I mention this only because I happen to have found myself—between spasms of slightly hysterical interest—alternately bored and amused by whole sections of "Tiny Alice," and feel that this circumstance is suspicious enough to require an explanation.

"Tiny Alice" is, to begin at the beginning, a symbolic play, in which everything apparently represents something else. When people say that they don't understand a play of this kind, they mean that they haven't been able to match up all the symbols—if this fellow is death, who is that fellow? Since Mr. Albee claims not to know what the play means himself, it is safe to conclude that some of the symbols don't match up with anything, and that the play *has* no meaning, in this sense. It is an impressionistic equation, in which some of the unknowns have fixed values and others can be whatever you like.

Thus, when the author states that no attack on religion is intended by his play, we can reasonably take his word for it. The Church, to be sure, plays an arrestingly venal and cynical part in the action; but the Church could easily mean something else, or nothing at all. The churchmen involved might be representing almost anything—except, possibly, churchmen. Like the psychiatrist in "The Cocktail Party" (a play which "Alice" rather outrageously resembles at times), they are never established professionally. Outside of their costumes and titles, they could be F.B.I. men, or diplomats for a second-rate power.

Which means either that Mr. Albee knows less about the Church than anyone who has ever written about it, or that he has gone out of his way not to identify his clerical characters correctly. I incline to the latter view. (Anyone with Mr. Albee's ear who wished to write an anti-clerical play could easily acquaint himself with the episcopal grace-notes, the conversational forms; but he hasn't even bothered.)

Unfortunately for both Albee and Eliot, there is a limit to the liberties you can take with living classes of people. Priests and psychiatrists are not characters in the court of King Tut but are still walking the earth, and they have their own particular pungency, their own private styles of good and evil, wisdom and stupidity. To put them on the stage without reference to this is to court the *fou rire*, the boffo supreme.

Eliot's psychiatrist must have caused a riot in professional circles. So too with Albee's clergymen. One tries to remember that they really represent something else—worldliness, greed, exploitation of belief—but they look an awful lot like priests. (I suppose a German would feel the same way about a Conrad Veidt Nazi-movie.) Disbelief is suspended by a thread over symbolic plays anyway; the metaphors must be accurate on the literal level or they will fail even as metaphors.

Since this probably sounds like nothing so much as sectarian one-upmanship, let me hasten to broaden the point. If "Tiny Alice" eviscerates the clergy in the cause of symbolism and expressionism, it does no less for the human race at large. People also have a certain pungency, a certain odor of place and association. Mr. Albee acknowledges this, but only up to a point. Although the characters in his play come from no particular country, and have no lives to speak of outside the theater, they do belong to a class. They go horseback riding. They reek of money.

This would be enough for most purposes. Provided the characters have a recognizable resonance, we don't need detailed information about them. But Albee has filled the vacuum in their personalities with a kind of neutral bitchiness left over from his other plays which defines them as Albee characters but not as human beings.

This is important, because the play has a point to make about human beings: and again the metaphor proves inadequate on the literal level. It is one thing to show that life is meaningless for Albee characters, quite another to show that it is meaningless for real people. It is no trick to tell us that lives like these are empty dreams—they have never looked like anything else. The characters have phony names and no addresses; they lack either position or magnitude. And since they do not seem to share the illusions that the rest of us have—the illusion that words like New Jersey and (your name) and father and child have meaning—these illusions are unaffected by the play.

All of which is to say that too much of "Tiny Alice" consists in one more listening-in on Edward Albee's private quarrel: the obsessions are decked-out to look like something else, like universal truths in fact, but they are only Albee truths about Albee people. The result is an intriguing grotesque, an elegant mime of a particular emotional state, but not the big statement about life and death that Albee's rather windy rhetoric seems to enshroud.

In the way of ideas, "Tiny Alice" is mystifying only in expression. It has a fairly simple central idea, which is deliberately fuzzed over and shimmered, like an impressionistic painting. (The idea could be described as the infinite refraction quandary: subject sees himself in an endless multiplication of mirrors: which one is he actually in?) This is no criticism. Mr. Albee has warned us not to worry about

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the ideas as such, just to open ourselves to the impression. It is precisely this that I find weak in too many places, although full of freakish vigor in others.

Of the actors, John Gielgud whimpers uncomprehendingly throughout, seriously weakening the only character who might have human resonance. John Heffernan, who has already done well this seaon in "The Alchemist," goes himself one better as a Pinteresque butler. But the real star of the evening is William Ritman, whose sets give the play a majesty which Mr. Albee is never quite able to match. (*At the Billy Rose*)

WILFRID SHEED

RAIN, RAIN

THE SCREEN

The movie folk are determined this week to prove that life is no bed of roses. They have a point; but I do wish they wouldn't pile woe upon woe for their suffering characters until these poor people feel more put upon than Job. Sometimes the miserable person's whole family, as with Job's, is involved. And such is the case with the thoughtful new movie produced by Alan Pakula and directed by Robert Mulligan, whose previous films, "To Kill a Mockingbird" and "Love with the Proper Stranger," have prepared the moviegoer to expect something worth seeing. "Baby, the Rain Must Fall" is indeed worth seeing. Its grim story, about a young fellow out on parole from a prison farm and his wife and little daughter who come to be with him in a Texas town, is obviously not for everybody; but the picture is so well done throughout that you find yourself absorbed even while you're suffering with this family.

That the huband and wife love each other, there's no denying. They are, in fact, somewhat like a younger sampling of the middle-aged couple in another recent, good film, "The Luck of Ginger Coffey." In "Baby, the Rain" the young wife, nicely played by Lee Remick, still patiently accepts her husband as she finds him. She even goes to work in a Drive-In restaurant so that he can continue writing his folksy songs and play and sing with a little band. The husband, portrayed by Steve McQueen with a sensitivity he has never shown before—although the resolution is still there—is a non-conformist. He is devoted to his wife and daughter, but he refuses to get a better-paying job, and he insists his songs and guitar will one day make him famous. His story is particularly interesting because it is not clear-cut. The strict widow who adopted him as a young orphan beat him unmercifully but could not break his spirit. And the problem boy became a problem man still rebelling against a mold. Some would call him a bad boy-man. Perhaps he is. Certainly everything goes wrong for him during the course of the movie; and he, himself, goes from bad to worse in his fierce rebellion. But he still retains the love of his wife and daughter and the friendship of the town sheriff, warmly played by Don Murray, who succeeds admirably in giving an off-beat portrait of a movie sheriff.

Much about "Baby, the Rain Must Fall" is admirable: the fine relationship between the wife and husband, between the father and daughter, and, indeed, between the sheriff and the wife with a suggestion of respect and love that is never carried too far. Perhaps restraint is the keynote to the whole good script which Horton Foote wrote from his play, "The Traveling Lady." The wife is a traveling lady. Without screaming at the audience, after the husband has gone on a rampage that lands him back in prison, the finale is quite touching as the wife prepares to move on and says to the daughter, "We sure do get around." Elmer Bernstein's musical score gives out with the husband's folk song: "Into each life a little rain," etc., and you can't help but thinking that this couple had more than rain; they had a flood.

The young couple in "Nothing But a Man" are also beset with more than rain as they suffer through all their woes. This is the extraordinary film in which all the leading characters are Negro; it was made on a very small budget and was warmly applauded at the Venice and New York Film Festivals. Its producers, Robert Young, Michael Roemer, and Robert Rubin, doubled as director, writers, and in other capacities, and have on the whole done a good job. I think it is a mistake, however, to overpraise a film just because its heart is in the right place and it was made independently for peanuts.

In spite of its faults, however, there is still much to be said in favor of "Nothing But a Man" which is set in the South and makes clear that Negroes have little chance for dignity there. Its story follows the rise of an irresponsible young Negro who leads a carefree life on a railroad gang until he meets an attractive schoolteacher, falls in love but resists the obligations of marriage until after an unhappy visit with his father and the father's mistress opens his own eyes and heart. The young couple are exceedingly well played by Ivan Dixon, as the rebellious railroad man, and by Abbey Lincoln, as the bright teacher.

Actually their troubles really begin after the marriage—when the man has difficulty finding a job because he is labeled a trouble-maker and the wife has to expend much of her energy keeping him in line. But once again a visit to the father helps to straighten out the man and make him face responsibility. The relationships between this young husband and wife are effectively portrayed, and their handling of their problems, most of which could be the problems of any young marrieds, is shown without melodrama or exaggeration. Another interesting note: although the whites are often the villains of the piece, the Negroes are displayed as being not always blameless. The film's main theme that a man must stand up comes across beautifully. If you don't go to "Nothing But a Man" expecting to see the greatest film ever made you're likely to find it worthy of applause.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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BOOKS

The self-probings of a master artist

The Diaries of Paul Klee, 1898-1918
EDITED BY FELIX KLEE
University of California, $10

ROGER ANTHONY WELCHANS

THE DIARIES of the Swiss-German artist Paul Klee (1879-1940) constitute an important historical and theoretical document for serious students of Modern Art. Klee, more than any other artist of our century, was concerned with the formation of a work of art as a process, not with the more traditional notion of the art object as a "finished" form with an immutable value.

He expressed these ideas in fully developed theoretical essays like "Creative Credo," "Ways of Nature Study," "Lecture at Jena" and "Pedagogical Sketchbook," which were written for publication after his 1920 appointment as a teacher at the Bauhaus forced him to make his ideas explicit. These writings have been available in translation to English-reading scholars since the 1950's, at which time it became apparent that the emphasis on process rather than product, Klee's pet theme, was fundamental to the understanding of almost all Modern Art. Klee's *Diaries*, written before his Bauhaus days and never originally intended for publication, foreshadows his didactic writings, and clearly shows the germination of his mature theories.

This translation is the combined accomplishment of Pierre B. Schneider of Paris, and R. Y. Zachary and Max Knight of the University of California Press. In most translations something is lost, and in this case it is the pungency of Klee's strongly pictorial use of formally perfect German. The loss is noteworthy because Klee's singular feeling for his language is now recognized as the source for his distinctive, philosophically humorous picture titles. Otherwise, the translation sensitively retains the clarity and associations of Klee's thoughts.

Klee's technical development as an artist, and his eventual mastery first of line and then of color is clearly recorded in his orderly, successively numbered entries. Early in his career, Klee was aware of his unusual graphic talents. In 1908, breaking free from the ornamental line associated with Jugendstil, he developed an extraordinary linear technique which he called "psychic improvisation," in which he used his pen almost as a graph needle of his inner stirrings to "give form to what burdens the soul. To note experiences that can turn themselves into linear composition even in the blackest night." Somewhat hesitantly he concluded, "I am beginning to see a way to provide a place for my line. . . . Working in this way, my real personality will express itself, will be able to emancipate itself into the greatest freedom." By 1913, hesitation vanished; he was fully confident in his ability to express complex poetic feelings ". . . with a certain precision, and this by line alone, line as absolute spirituality, without analytic accessories, simply taken for granted."

In 1910, when the tension between representation and abstraction was at its height in Modern Art, Klee declared in favor of art freed from nature: "And now an altogether revolutionary discovery: to adapt oneself to the contents of the paintbox is more important than nature and its study. I must someday be able to improvise freely on the chromatic keyboard of the rows of watercolor cups." His aspirations for freely improvised color which would unite harmoniously with the delicate expressiveness of his line was not realized until 1914 when, on a trip to Tunisia, he was overwhelmed with the color of the land, "the gently diffused light," the "evening(s) of colors as tender as they were clear," and in prose which keeps pace with his excitement, he exultantly wrote, "Color possesses me. I don't have to pursue it. It will possess me always, I know it. That is the meaning of this happy hour: Color and I are one. I am a painter."

Students of Klee's humor will note in the Diaries that he displayed the mental set of many great humorists who, by various means, attempt to dispel with laughter the tragic frustrations surrounding the spiritual-animal duality of human nature. Klee diagnosed the human predicament as follows: "There are two mountains on which the weather is bright and clear, the mountain of the beasts and the mountain of the gods. But between them lies the crepuscular valley of men. If perchance one of them gazes upward, he is seized by a premonitory, unquenchable yearning, he who knows that he does not know, for those that do not know that they do not know, and those who know that they know." To relieve that hopeless yearning, he prescribed in life and art, laughter: "laughter is all that lifts us above the beast."

In short, Klee's *Diaries* is a careful record of the maturation of its author, from the melodramatic, probing introspections of his youth, to the determined calm of his 37th year, which found him in uniform amidst the chaos of post World War I Germany. That deliberate serenity (which later at the Bauhaus earned him the nickname, "the spiritual father") is a reflection of the astounding personal detachment achieved by Klee which, of course, influenced his art and which, in his writing, lends authority to his observations on himself, on other modern masters like Kandinsky, Macke, Ensor, and Marc, and on the world of music and literature which profoundly affected his thinking. The publication of Klee's *Diaries* in English will certainly broaden

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scholarly appreciation of his art, his individuality, and his important role in the development of Modern Art.

The Thief's Journal

JEAN GENET

Grove Press, $6

ALICE MAYHEW

Jean Genet, an illegitimate child abandoned by his mother to the state, spent his early youth in foster homes and reformatories. Thereafter, until the age of about thirty, he lived exclusively in company with thieves, pimps, prostitutes and murderers. At various times he was in prison all over Europe, and was finally pardoned from a life sentence through the efforts of Jean-Paul Sartre and other French intellectuals. Thereafter, through his books and plays, the society he scorned has absorbed, argued and taken his accusations into account, if not to heart.

While in prison, he had written, on pieces of brown wrapping paper, an account of his obsessive and sexual hallucinations. This novel, *Our Lady of the Flowers*, is an extraordinary and gorgeously lyrical assault on the Other World, and a compelling attempt to create and energize a wholly different universe where he, Genet, is conscious-subject, master, and God.

Several years later, he wrote *The Thief's Journal* (not a journal any more than *Our Lady* is a novel) which is a description of the process by which his own intelligence was born in the act of creating his books. In writing, Genet has attempted to transcend what had seemed to him his predestined (as orphan, as homosexual) exclusion from the world and the acts of alienation (of thievery, betrayal, prostitution) that followed naturally.

The *Journal* is almost pedantically concerned with explaining the process by which Genet has mythologized his criminality. It is in contradiction to Sartre's off-again, on-again thesis that Genet writes for himself, or that, at the very least, the reader is invited merely as *voyeur*. On the contrary, Genet makes clear that we, the YOU, are necessary to him, the I. "The greater my guilt in your eyes, the more whole, the more totally assumed, the greater will be my freedom. The more perfect my solitude and uniqueness"; and again, he promises that the last bond will be broken when, "to their contempt for *me* I oppose my love of *them*."

Several themes dominate this book which is composed of imagist scenes and action shots, interrupted by author's instructions that veer on stage direction. (Imagine, if you will, the author pleads, that I am here in stage center, dressed in the costume of my trade, in the company of others of my type, and that I am visibly in the following state of mind and emotion. Enter: Reflection.) This does, of course, in technique and requirement, indicate a drive toward the opportunities of the theater that Genet was later to embrace.

The subject is Genet's early youth during the thirties, when he lived in crime and prison in Spain, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Nazi Germany, and Belgium, to return finally to France and prison once again. His companions are the male pimps and petty thieves who were both his lovers and tormenters. His pursuit of traitors and criminals, he admits, was masochistic both in its eroticism and in its "first" need, the "condemnation of my own race."

But the real subject matter is Genet's singular act of intelligence and creation by which he seeks to subdue, glorify and communicate the implications of his asocial, negative actions and also to endow them and himself with heroic meaning. This is a supremely intellectual book, an exercise in Idealism. "My life must be a legend, in other words, legible, and the reading of it must give birth to a certain new emotion which I shall call poetry. I am no longer anything, only a pretext."

This is the key preoccupation: Words Make the Myth. The "truth" lies neither in the revelation of his history, nor in what Genet makes of it later as he sets it down (the two facts are not identical, but co-active). The "truth" is his verbal victory over his pain, his solitude, his former hardships, and the essential ambiguity which assails him both within and without.

Like Sartre, Genet believes that it is words, not images, that it is thoughts and creations, not sensations and emotions, which endure. "What I have sought most of all," he says, "has been

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to be the consciousness of the theft whose poem I am writing." And by achieving this poem, through lyricism, Genet arrives at the Fable where all creation is possible.

It is easy to understand Sartre's delight at discovering so convenient an existentialist subject as Genet. Genet seeks to assert the totality of his will on three inter-related planes which converge, cross over, double back, interpierce and burst in a climax of conceptual freedom—the man as Creator, the one-who-wills as God.

He is concerned, first of all, with the subject-object relationship. He refers to a Europe filled with objects and circumstances; he has a horror of being treated as an object; and he sees wrenching and violent action as the only means of becoming subject (free agent, thinker and actor). The second plane is that of the act and, for Genet, the act is necessarily one of denial since he is betrayed by society and forever estranged from it. "I thus resolutely rejected a world which rejected me." But his acts, as he explains in the *Journal,* are as well preparation for the future when he will move to discover their meaning, as they are reflections on his past. The past must transform itself in order to contribute to the making of the myth by which he overcomes the supposedly unavoidable. This act is the act of the Word.

The third level is the most difficult and desperate. Genet, as Sartre points out, becomes God. "When he was free," Sartre writes, "he wished to be only the *object* of providential solicitude. . . . In prison, he lets go, he drifts out of the universe." Genet creates a world where he is master and end-all, and before which he can stand in supreme indifference. He does not simply invert the morals of the Other World (though he eulogizes the contraries of its virtues). He creates a New Universe so that he can enjoy absolute freedom from the Other World. Since he cannot live in the given World, and since, being matter, he must live somewhere, he fantasizes.

While I believe that Genet does not simply invert society's principles, I believe that *The Thief's Journal* provides considerable documentation that his World does not exist except as society's negation. I shall quote only one example out of many. He is talking about Nazi Germany. "I had the feeling," Genet says, "that I was strolling about in a camp organized by bandits. . . . 'It's a race of thieves,' I thought to myself. 'If I steal here, I perform no singular deed that might fulfill me. I obey the customary order; I do not destroy it. . . .'" And he continues: ". . . what I desired above all was to return to a country where the laws of ordinary mortals were revered, were laws on which life was based." Not so that he can observe the laws, it goes without saying.

Genet is not too convincing, therefore, in his protestations of absolute withdrawal. In spite of his desire to be so removed that there will no longer be anything around him—nothing—I think he wishes to make himself felt on us, pain him as we do. Toward the end of the *Journal,* his most text-bookish work, he makes a pointed remark: "The world is growing uneasy. As that uneasiness grows, I know a strange peace."

Religion, Revolution and Reform

EDITED BY WM. D'ANTONIO & FREDERICK B. PIKE

Praeger, $5.95

ALFRED STEPAN

The landowners, the military and the Church have traditionally formed the triptych of conservative power in Latin America. Yet today the fastest growing reform movement in the area is the lay Christian Democratic Party, which draws its social philosophy from the Papal encyclicals. Prodded by this fact and by the efforts of the late Pope John XXIII (and, no doubt, by their fear of other Fidel Castros), the Church hierarchy in Latin America is slowly evolving reforms of its own which may finally alter its age-old role.

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book, a series of essays which grew out of a conference of clergy and lay people from North and South America, held at the University of Notre Dame. Latin America is the largest Catholic area in the world, yet it is a mission area. In 1960 only one priest was ordained in Paraguay, three in Uruguay and four in Bolivia. Although ninety per cent of Latin Americans are born and die in the Church, probably only twenty per cent practice their religion. In Chile, one of the few places where accurate surveys have been carried out, the figure was below thirteen per cent.

With this depressing background it is obvious that the Church will not be able to reform herself overnight merely by declaring for reforms. What then are the intellectual changes that must take place? Bishop McGrath of Panama, who plays an active role in the new Catholic reform movement, points out that the Church must, as a first step, acknowledge the "intrinsic value of temporal goods and temporal progress as perfective of the human state." In the most provocative essay in the book, Father Vekemans, S.J., the *éminence gris* of the Christian Democratic Party in Chile and a permanent advisor to the World Bank, argues that in Latin America, theological attitudes so dominate thinking that they prejudice the possibility of economic development. Theological thinking is characterized by docility, submission and obedience to God's Will, whereas scientific and social thought is characterized by domination, possession and control. Until the Church itself can relegate the two modes of thought to their proper spheres, it will make little contribution to social reform.

The two chapters by Christian Democratic leaders, one of whom is Eduardo Frei of Chile, the first Christian Democratic President in Latin America, provide the most succinct description of the tone and dynamism of the movement they represent to be found in English at the present. Though this Christian Democratic movement stems from Catholic social thought, Frei stresses that it is "non-confessional," that is to say, autonomous in the sphere of political policy-making. It is also far more revolutionary than its European counterpart. To reform the corrupt status quo in Latin America, drastic root-and-branch change is necessary. Latin America is looking for an ideology and a program of action, and though Marxism and Christian Democracy have both, Christian Democracy, unlike Marxism, does not entail a break with the humanism and Catholicism of Latin American culture.

It is a party that stresses social justice and technological reform, and it makes a cross-class appeal to trade unionists, middle class technicians and to those Tory reformers who know that if they are to survive, the system must change. Certainly the Church's new liberalism has played an important part in the rise of the movement, for as long as the Church stood for the status quo the Marxist communists, the socialists or the anti-clerical Radicals had a monopoly on reform. Thus there is both cause and effect at work, and it is interesting to note that the movement has been most successful in that country with the most liberal Church, namely in Chile. The process works two ways, for the presence of the Christian Democratic Party encourages the Church to further reforms.

Considering that Church-State relations were a serious source of conflict as recently as the late nineteenth century, several of the North American contributors question whether a new Christian Party has much hope of success in Latin America. Professor Quirk cites an interesting attempt by the Church in Mexico to start its own political reform movement in the 1920's. Once the clerics gained control of the movement it

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was quickly suppressed by the government. Analogously, if the Christian Democratic Party is to succeed it must remain free from clerical control. Several issues could arise to test its autonomy, but none is likely to be so pressing as the problem of population control. If neither the Church nor the Party that enacts its principles can do something about the fact that the population in Latin America will double in the next twenty-five years, can they continue to be considered relevant reform movements?

Wordsworth's Poetry 1787-1814

GEOFFREY H. HARTMAN

Yale University Press, $8.50

WILLIAM WALLING

Geoffrey Hartman is a professor of English and comparative literature at the University of Iowa and *Wordsworth's Poetry* is his third book, the other two, like the present one, being works of literary criticism. As some indication of Hartman's range, it should be noted that his first book, *The Unmediated Vision*, discusses four poets, one of whom is Rilke; while his second deals specifically with the work of Malraux. Nor is this reputation for an extraordinary range in the literature of several languages anything but furthered by the present study, which, at least on the evidence of its title, would seem to promise only a consideration of a single English poet.

Unfortunately, however, range does not necessarily guarantee depth; even less does it guarantee appositeness; and the critic who interrupts a comparison between Milton and Wordsworth to tell me that *tardemah* is the Hebrew word for "the deep sleep of Genesis 2:21," or who initiates a discussion of one of the books of *The Prelude* by introducing the terminology of Jewish religious thought, convinces me only that he is more concerned with working out certain ideas of his own than with examining Wordsworth's poetry.

Yet Hartman's book *is* important, primarily because of this very fact: that it is not, essentially, a work of literary criticism at all, but rather a hybrid—a hybrid falling somewhere between synthetic mythology and secular exegesis, written very much along the lines of the most successful book of this type, Northrop Frye's *Fearful Symmetry*. Indeed, although *Wordsworth's Poetry* has already received high praise from a number of critics (one of whom of course is Frye himself), I believe the title is an actual misnomer. "Wordsworth's Thought" might have been a better choice; or even, since this is where the thesis of the book leads from the beginning, "Wordsworth: The Genesis of the Modern Dilemma."

I use "thesis" advisedly, since Hartman employs the word himself to describe the first section of his book. What is offered here, in this first section, is the contention that Wordsworth's poetry is the record of a mind struggling against the acceptance of the fact that consciousness inevitably implies alienation. What Wordsworth strives to do, according to Hartman, is evolve a concept of Nature which will serve as a buffer against the "apocalyptic" tendency of the imagination. (By "apocalyptic" Hartman means, among other things, "any strong desire to cast out nature and to achieve an unmediated contact with the principle of things.") Here, then, is Wordsworth's problem (and, for the author, Wordsworth's problem is the beginning of the modern dilemma): that the physical world cannot suffice for the energies of consciousness; while the mythic world, the supernatural, no longer has any relevance for the mind of man. Hence, the argument continues, Wordsworth's major effort is based on a hope that "nature can satisfy a mind which seeks, or used to seek, the supernatural."

One might disagree with the fundamental reasoning of this approach on a number of points. For example, does consciousness have to imply inevitable alienation? Does it, as Hartman further claims, inevitably involve a "betrayal of nature"? Heidegger of course would deny it, as Hartman concedes in a note; Teilhard would maintain that all life possesses consciousness: man's uniqueness is not that he possesses it, but that he is aware of the possession, and what Hartman calls "alienation" is simply man's confusion at a critical stage of evolution. But even to shift ground at this point for a moment and allow Hartman the full implication of his argument—does it then follow that a dilemma for certain poets is a dilemma for mankind? Croce has offered an explanation of the sensibility ushered in by the romantics at the turn of the nineteenth century as a malady springing from "feminine minds" lacking the "courage and virile attitude" demanded by a changing world. To pursue this explanation, might it not be maintained, with fully as much logic as Hartman's, that the modern world presents the phenomenon of the imagination of man being transformed into a more scientific (and, in Crocean terms, masculine) cast? Thus, the obvious extreme subjectivism and pessimism of much contemporary art (and, incidentally, literary criticism) could be seen as the death throes of a no longer dominant form of sensibility.

The major criticism which might be made of Hartman's study apart from his relentless riding of a thesis, is that he has a tendency to discount certain important aspects of Wordsworth. For example, when he tells us on the last page of his book that "political fears . . . are really imaginative fears," we learn something about the author's fashionable political apathy; but we are very far indeed from the poet who has best told us what it is to be pos-

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REVIEWERS

ROGER ANTHONY WELCHANS *is a painter and a lecturer on art at the Cleveland Museum of Art.*

ALICE MAYHEW *is on the staff of a New York publishing house.*

ALFRED STEPAN, *who has appeared in* The Economist *and* The New Republic, *among others, recently returned from an extended trip through Latin America.*

WILLIAM WALLING *teaches in the English Department at Manhattan College.*

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sessed by political excitement. Even the bibliography (otherwise quite useful), with its inclusion of only the first edition of Legouis' *The Early Life,* serves to contribute to the suspicion that Hartman has minimized Wordsworth's humanity and exaggerated his philosophy: for it is the first edition alone of Legouis' book which fails to tell the story of Annette Vallon.

There are one or two minor errors. Wordsworth did not "eschew" the sonnet form before 1802; his earliest printed poem is a sonnet, and he composed a number of others before the great achievement of 1802. There is an interesting misquotation from the King James Version on page 154 (whether intentional or not I was unable to tell) which serves as a kind of gloss on Hartman's own style: the misquotation adds an unnecessary word and the tone betrays a mistrust of simplicity. As for the vocabulary, the attempts at mythic significance—"omphalos vision," "the paracletic function of nature," and other, similar excesses—succeed mainly in irritating.

The book, however, is one that every reader who is especially interested in Wordsworth should know. My distaste for the rigid application of a thesis (and, no doubt, for the thesis itself) should not obscure the fact that Hartman's almost obsessive relentlessness often compels assent to his argument. Nor would I be anything but disingenuous were I to deny that the fundamental nature of Hartman's approach is probably going to dominate this generation's revaluation of romantic poetry.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page* 531)

guess that they won probably two hundred votes for these schemas.

Perhaps the motivation for proclaiming Mary Mother of the Church was similar. For the Marian maximalists among the conservatives, it was a psychologically and symbolically significant gesture which made them ecstatically happy, but yet it was dogmatically empty. The proclamation was so phrased that it can easily (though by no means necessarily) be interpreted as saying that "Mater Ecclesiae" means simply "Mater fidelium." When thus interpreted, even Protestants cannot object—unless, of course, they object to calling Abraham "Father of the Church" when this is understood as repeating St. Paul's affirmation that he is "Father of the faithful." In saying this, I do not want to trivialize the proclamation. The maximalists will exploit it as much as they can in support of what the non-Catholic regards as dangerous liturgical and theological aberrations. Yet it is important to retain a sense of proportion and to note that, taken by itself, it is doctrinally vacuous and not in the least comparable to the Marian dogmas of 1854 and 1950. It is this fact which makes it plausible to think of Pope Paul as conciliating, rather than allying himself with, conservative Mariologists when he made this proclamation.

If the Pope's actions were inspired by a Quaker-like concern for unanimity, then—and this is my third point—one should not overrate their substantive importance. Their long-range significance depends on what kind of theological outlook prevails in the future, and they themselves indicate little or nothing about what that outlook will be. If ecumenical openness continues to enlarge, then it will make no difference that the decree speaks only of the separated brethren "seeking" God in Scripture and says nothing about their finding Him. Similarly, the doors to the right opened by the explanatory note on collegiality and the title "Mater Ecclesiae" will not be utilized. On the basis of the available evidence, it seems to me that there is at least a fifty percent chance that the setbacks at the end of the past session will prove to be mere eddies in the flood-tide of reform and of no more lasting importance than John XXIII's highly "unecumenical" pilgrimage to Loretto (that most questionable of Italian Marian shrines) or the delays in the second session in voting on the "five questions" and on the Jews.

My fourth and final point is that the atmosphere at the end of this session was quite different from what Dr. Brown's article suggested. It was not at all like that after the second session. Not gloom and anxiety, but irritation, even anger, was the prevailing mood among bishops and *periti.* They could sympathize with the possible motives and accept without much protest the substance of the Pope's actions, but the procedures used seemed to them intolerable. Why were the conservatives allowed to get away with the nasty little delaying tactics which enabled them to win a legalistically plausible postponement of the question of religious liberty? Why did the Pope wait until the very end to introduce the alterations in *De Oecumenismo,* to add the explanatory note to *De Ecclesia,* and to announce the proclamation of Mary as Mother of the Church? All of these items could have been negotiated—probably successfully—through regular conciliar channels. Indeed, the Pope has previously made suggestions of equal import which have been so handled. Why then did he act in this high-handed way which set potentially bad precedents for the exercise of collegiality, irritated the bishops, antagonized non-Catholics and generated some very bad publicity for the Church?

The answers to these questions are locked inside the head and person of Pope Paul. Is he becoming afraid that papal prerogatives are being dangerously eroded and need to be asserted? Was he, to put it crudely, showing the Council who is boss? If so, the pessimistic tone of Dr. Brown's article is justified. However, other possibilities seem more likely. Perhaps the Pope is the Hamlet of some reports, hesitating until it is too late to proceed properly. Perhaps he is so isolated by the curial system that he is simply out of touch with public opinion inside and outside the Council. Perhaps he was subjected to an unexpected surge of conservative pressure at the end of the session. Perhaps, on the other hand, he simply miscalculated in thinking that the hard-core reactionaries would yield without further concessions.

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If these latter possibilities, singly or in combination, provide the answer, then the reaction of one highly placed prelate is justified. We must see to it, he said, that this sort of thing does not happen again. There is a great deal that the majority can do. It can become more adept in outmaneuvering the minority. It can attempt to establish better lines of communication with the Pope. Above all, it can work towards the administrative restructuring of the papal office. At present, as Pope John put it, the Pope is a Persian satrap, a prisoner of his courtiers. It is difficult for him to act collegially even if he wishes to. Anything which increases the pressure to change the system is to be welcomed. My own hope and prayer is that the anger of the bishops at the procedural fiascos of the last session will prove to be just this sort of blessing in disguise.

GEORGE A. LINDBECK
Yale Divinity School

A Senate of Bishops

Los Gatos, Calif.

To the Editors: Professor Brown's excellent article describing his apprehensions about the Council [Dec. 25] raises a number of important questions. However, I think none of them is more crucial, as the Council moves toward its conclusion, or more far-reaching in its consequences, than the question of the so-called "senate of bishops."

The disturbing events at the end of the last session were an abrupt reminder that after a thousand years of increasing centralization, the return of the Church to a more collegial and communitarian approach, with the development of corresponding structures, will not be a simple or painless process, even though collegiality has been endorsed by an overwhelming consensus of the bishops. It is a public fact that this steadily growing consensus of the bishops has been opposed by a steadily dwindling minority which occupies strategic positions. This small minority has shown itself unsympathetic to the Council's desire to return to a less monarchial style of life in the Church, and has even succeeded in creating the impression that Pope Paul shares their view against the massive majority of the Council. How much truth there is in this impression is a question of supreme importance, but one far too delicate and complex to explore in a short letter to the editor. For the present I would like to direct attention to a related question in the practical order.

Concrete action to set up a "senate of bishops" to assume an active role in guiding the Church could be postponed as long as the Council still had some time to run. After all, a "super-senate," the Council itself, actively existed. But now that the end is in sight, serious discussion of the nature of this continuing Council in miniature must begin. That some such group will be formed is a foregone conclusion. We need only recall that the suggestion was made before the second session by Pope Paul, taken up into the text of the schema on the pastoral role of the bishops, and mentioned again by the Pope at the end of this last session. However, the really decisive question is: what kind of senate will it be?

Will it be nothing more than window dressing, a body which in reality does no more than meet to ratify decisions already made in Rome without benefit of collegial discussion? Or will it be a truly representative body capable of giving collegiality substance and reality in the life of the Church? Will it meet only at haphazard intervals, or will it meet with the same fixed regularity as any serious governmental body? Will its membership be nothing more than a projection of the interests and thought-patterns of the Roman center, or will it be a truly representative body, with members elected for limited terms by regional bishops' conferences, a body which, like the Council itself, will reflect the interest and thought-patterns of the whole Catholic Church? Will it find some form of permanent representation for other Christian Churches and for Catholic laymen and laywomen, or will it retreat from the splendid beginning the Council has made? Will it be a body capable of allaying the fears of many Council Fathers that the renewal they have set under way may be frustrated by a return to "business as usual" when they go home after the last session?

Questions like these about the nature of the "senate" must become the subject of detailed and concrete public discussion as we move toward the post-conciliar period.

The majority of the Council Fathers have shown their enthusiasm for many kinds of renewal in the Church; they have manifested a concern to keep the discussion of important issues from going underground again, a desire to give full scope to the charisms of the Spirit in every member of the Christian community, a realistic determination to do something about reform not just talk about it, an openness to serious structural reforms in the Church, a realization that all authority in the Church must be one of humble simple service if it is to be faithful to the Gospel.

But the one strategic move which more than any other will provide assurance that this consensus of the Council Fathers is not frustrated will be the establishment of a stable and really effective "Council in miniature" to follow through after the Council comes to an end. Almost every child who has heard the story of the lad to whom the fairies allowed just one wish has been ingenious enough to think that *he* would have asked for a wishing ring which would answer *all* his wishes. Now even an ideal "senate" is certainly no wishing ring. Life is not that simple. But it can open the way to other developments as hardly anything else could. The genius of Pope John's inspiration to call a Council was that this one step in some way encompassed everything else which followed. Now that the Council is coming to an end, an effective "senate" can play a similar strategic role during the years to come.

Surely the most important single thing the Fathers must do before the last session ends is see to it that the sprouting seed they have sown—for, though rich in promise, it is still no more than that—is not devoured, nor choked among thorns, but bears fruit a hundredfold. Without an effective "senate" this still tender shoot may wither away for lack of roots.

(Rev.) DANIEL J. O'HANLON, S.J.

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